

Message Text

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TO USMISSION NATO IMMEDIATE

INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS

S E C R E T STATE 112885

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO

SUBJECT: ATLANTIC DECLARATION

EMBASSY PARIS PLEASE PASS TO ASSISTANT SECRETARY HARTMAN

REF: USNATO 2950; USNATO 2953

1. APPRECIATE FULL REPORT REFEELS, AND HELPFUL MISSION COMMENTS. AFTER APPROPRIATE CONSULTATION WITH UK DELEGATION, YOU SHOULD DRAW ON FOLLOWING GUIDANCE IN FURTHER DISCUSSION OF MAY 27-28 SPC DRAFT TEXT OF ATLANTIC DECLARATION; COMMENTS ARE KEYED TO TEXT PROVIDED USNATO 2950, WHOSE STRUCTURAL ORDERING IS ACCEPTABLE.

A) PARA 1. YOU MAY ACCEPT PRESENT TEXT WITH DELETION OF "UNPRECEDENTED PROSPERITY."

B) PARA 2. REGARDING THE ALTERNATIVE BRACKETED FORMULATIONS FOR THE FIRST SENTENCE, NONE OF THE ALTERNATIVES TO THE UK LANGUAGE IN THE FIRST BRACKET STRIKES US AS ADEQUATELY REFLECTING THE SPIRIT OF THE HARMEL REPORT, AND YOU MAY SUGGEST THE FOLLOWING ALTERNATIVE- "THE MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE REAFFIRM THEIR CONVICTION THAT
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THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY PROVIDES THE INDISPENSABLE

BASIS FOR THEIR SECURITY AS THEY PURSUE POLICIES OF
DETENTE." WITH REGARD TO DESIRE OF SOME TO DELETE "SECURITY"
FROM THE PENULTIMATE SENTENCE OF PARAGRAPH 2, YOU SHOULD
CONTINUE TO ARGUE FOR ITS RETENTION ON THE BASIS THAT (A)

IF DISARMAMENT IS ACHIEVED, AND (B) THE WORD
"SECURITY" IS DELETED FROM THIS TEXT, THEN (C) THE IMPRES-
SION WOULD BE LEFT THAT OTHER TIES UNITING THE ALLIES
WOULD NOT NEED TO BE MAINTAINED. ACCORDINGLY, WE WOULD
STRONGLY PREFER TO RETAIN THE WORD "SECURITY."

C) PARA 3. WE CONTINUE TO HAVE DIFFICULTY WITH THE
PHRASE "DOMINATION OF THE WORLD" IN THE SECOND SENTENCE
OF PARAGRAPH 3, AND WOULD HOPE THAT FURTHER DRAFTING
EFFORT WOULD RESULT IN A FORMULATION THAT IS MORE FELICI-
TOUS WHILE MEETING ALLIED CONCERNS. YOU MAY WISH TO
SUGGEST THE FOLLOWING FORMULATION AS A CONTRIBUTION TO
FURTHER REFLECTION: "THE COMMON AIM IS TO PREVENT THE
OUTBREAK OF A CONFLICT IN WHICH THE STAKE, THROUGH THE
DESTRUCTION OF ANY MEMBER NATION'S INDEPENDENCE, WOULD
BE THE SURVIVAL OF ALL." BEGIN FYI. IF NECESSARY TO
GAIN A CONSENSUS, WE WOULD RELUCTANTLY ACCEPT FIRST
BRACKETED FORMULATION. END FYI.

D) PARA 4. YOU MAY ACCEPT THE FRENCH PROPOSAL CONTAINED
IN THE BRACKETED FORMULATION, SINCE IT DOES NOT IMPLY A
DIFFERENTIATED THREAT TO EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA.

E) PARA 5. WE BELIEVE THE FIRST SENTENCE IS SUFFICIENTLY
STRONG WITHOUT INCLUSION OF "CERTAINLY," WHICH DID NOT
APPEAR IN UK DRAFT. WE AGREE WITH MISSION COMMENT ON
BRACKETED FORMULATIONS IN SECOND SENTENCE, AND FIND UK
COMPROMISE PLACING "PRESENT" BEFORE "ALTERNATIVE" NO
SIGNIFICANT IMPROVEMENT. BY CONTRAST, THE CANADIAN
PROPOSAL FOR REVISION OF THE SECOND SENTENCE STRIKES US
ALSO AS AN EFFECTIVE SUBSTITUTE, AND YOU MAY SUPPORT IT.
WITH REGARD TO BRACKETED FINAL TWO SENTENCES OF PARA-
GRAPH 5, WE WOULD NOT REPEAT NOT WISH TO MOVE THIS
LANGUAGE TO THE CONSULTATION PARAGRAPH, SINCE SUCH A
STEP COULD COMPLICATE THE DIFFICULTIES WE MAY FACE IN
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MAINTAINING THAT PARAGRAPH INTACT- ACCORDINGLY, WE
AGREE WITH YOUR RECOMMENDATION THAT WE STAND PAT ON THIS
LANGUAGE FOR THE TIME BEING, BUT YOU SHOULD FULLY REPORT
DISCUSSIONS ON THIS ISSUE, SO THAT WE MAY PROVIDE YOU
WITH FURTHER GUIDANCE. IN ARGUING FOR RETENTION OF THE
PENULTIMATE SENTENCE, YOU SHOULD POINT OUT AGAIN THAT
PARAGRAPH 15 OF THE HARMEL REPORT STATES- "THE NORTH
ATLANTIC TREATY AREA CANNOT BE TREATED IN ISOLATION

FROM THE REST OF THE WORLD. CRISES AND CONFLICTS ARISING OUTSIDE THE AREA MAY IMPAIR ITS SECURITY EITHER DIRECTLY OR BY AFFECTING THE GLOBAL BALANCE." WE WOULD BE PREPARED TO ACCEPT A PARAPHRASE OF THE HARMEL REPORT LANGUAGE. IF IT WOULD EASE CONCERNS EXPRESSED BY DUTCH AND

NORWEGIANS, MOREOVER, YOU MAY SUGGEST REPHRASING FINAL SENTENCE TO READ, "IN THIS CONNECTION THEY WELCOME THE CONTRIBUTION MADE BY MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE TO THE PRESERVATION OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AND WORLD PEACE." THIS, OF COURSE, WOULD REMOVE THE SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO THE UNITED STATES, AND THUS PERHAPS MITIGATE CONCERNS EXPRESSED ABOUT THE US ROLE IN VIETNAM.

F) PARA 6. YOU MAY JOIN IN A CONSENSUS THAT EMERGES ON THE BRACKETED FORMULATION IN THE SECOND SENTENCE AND, IF IT WOULD BE HELPFUL, YOU MAY INDICATE THAT WE ARE PREPARED TO ACCEPT THE SECOND BRACKETED ALTERNATIVE PREFERRED BY DUTCH.

G) PARA 7. WE UNDERSTAND THAT THE WORD "DETERMINATION" WILL BE SUBSTITUTED FOR "COMMITMENT." HOWEVER, WE ARE CONCERNED ABOUT THE FORMULATION "AND THAT TOGETHER WITH ITS ALLIES IT WILL MAINTAIN, ETC.," BECAUSE OF THE POSSIBLE CONNOTATION OF "WILL" AS A COMMITMENT. THUS, YOU SHOULD SEEK RE-INSERTION OF THE PHRASE "STATES ITS RESOLVE," SO THAT THE FULL PARAGRAPH WOULD READ: "THE UNITED STATES, FOR ITS PART, REAFFIRMS ITS DETERMINATION NOT TO ACCEPT ANY SITUATION WHICH WOULD EXPOSE ITS ALLIES TO EXTERNAL POLITICAL OR MILITARY PRESSURE LIKELY TO DEPRIVE THEM OF THEIR FREEDOM, AND STATES ITS RESOLVE, TOGETHER WITH ITS ALLIES TO MAINTAIN FORCES IN EUROPE AT THE LEVEL REQUIRED FOR SUSTAINING THE CREDIBILITY,

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ETC.," AS INDICATED IN PARAGRAPH 5 OF STATE 104606.

H) PARA 8. THE FIRST BRACKETED FORMULATION PROPOSED BY FRANCE AS A COMPROMISE ON THE ISSUE OF A REFERENCE TO THE PREVENTION OF NUCLEAR WAR AGREEMENT DOES NOT MEET OUR CONCERN, AND YOU SHOULD CONTINUE TO OPPOSE IT. YOU SHOULD CONTINUE TO SUPPORT SECOND BRACKETED FORMULATION OF FINAL SENTENCE. BEGIN FYI. SHOULD A CONSENSUS EMERGE FAVORING ELIMINATION OF BOTH ALTERNATIVE FORMULATIONS IN PARA 8, WE ARE PREPARED TO CONSIDER THIS. YOU SHOULD NOT TAKE THE LEAD IN STIMULATING SUCH A COMPROMISE, AND SHOULD REPORT URGENTLY ANY DEVELOPMENTS. END FYI.

I) PARA 9. YOU SHOULD CONTINUE TO BE GUIDED BY PARAGRAPH 2 (C) OF STATE 110842. IF A CONSENSUS DEVELOPS

FAVORING THE SECOND BRACKETED FORMULATION, YOU MAY ALSO SUPPORT THE TURKISH PROPOSAL FOR INCLUDING THE PHRASE, "TO THE INDIVISIBLE DEFENSE OF THE ALLIANCE."

J) PARA 10. WE NOTE THAT THE FIRST SENTENCE CONTAINS THE PHRASE, "TO NEGLECT NOTHING," A FORMULATION FROM THE FRENCH DRAFT, WHEREAS THE UK DRAFT IN PARAGRAPH 7

CONTAINS THE PHRASE, "TO MAINTAIN AND IMPROVE THE EFFICIENCY OF THEIR FORCES." WE WOULD PREFER THE LATTER FORMULATION, BUT CAN ACCEPT THE FORMER. THE SECOND SENTENCE OF PARAGRAPH 10 ON UNDIMINISHED SECURITY DOES NOT APPEAR IN THE UK TEXT, BUT IS DRAWN FROM PARAGRAPH 9 OF THE FRENCH DRAFT AND CONTINUES TO BE ACCEPTABLE TO US IF ALL OTHERS AGREE.

K) PARA 11. YOU SHOULD CONTINUE YOUR EFFORTS TO MAINTAIN UK TEXT.

L) PARA 12. YOU MAY ACCEPT DANISH PROPOSED REVISION OF THE FIRST SENTENCE. WE CONTINUE TO PREFER FIRST BRACKETED FORMULATION OF FINAL SENTENCE. IN THIS CONNECTION, WE BELIEVE THAT IT SHOULD BE POSSIBLE TO RECONCILE THE FRENCH AND BRITISH LANGUAGE ON ASSISTANCE TO LDC-S, AND WE WOULD BE PREPARED TO CONSIDER ANY REASONABLE FORMULATION ON THIS POINT. HOWEVER, FRENCH FORMULATION OMITTS
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REFERENCE TO THE INTERESTS OF ALL SERVED BY AN OPEN AND EQUITABLE ECONOMIC SYSTEM, A CONCEPT WHICH WE BELIEVE SHOULD BE PRESERVED. THE ONLY OTHER REFERENCE TO ECONOMIC MATTERS IS IN PARAGRAPH 11, WHICH ADDRESSES ECONOMIC COLLABORATION AMONG THE ALLIES IN TERMS DRAWN FROM PARAGRAPH 2 OF NAT, AND WE BELIEVE IT IMPORTANT FOR THE ALLIES TO OFFSET THE PAROCHIALISM OF THE LANGUAGE IN PARAGRAPH 11 WITH A MORE GENEROUS REFERENCE TO THE INTERESTS OF ALL SERVED BY ECONOMIC ARRANGEMENTS THAT ARE OPEN AND EQUITABLE. IN RESOLVING THIS ISSUE, IT MAY BE HELPFUL TO DROP FROM THE FINAL SENTENCE THE PHRASE "PROSPERITY AND POVERTY KNOW NO FRONTIERS," AND TO REPHRASE THE FINAL SENTENCE TO READ, "IT IS IN THE INTERESTS OF ALL TO SEEK AN OPEN AND EQUITABLE WORLD ECONOMIC SYSTEM." ALTERNATIVELY, THE LAST TWO SENTENCES COULD BE COMBINED AS FOLLOWS: "IN THE WORLD AT LARGE, THEY RECOGNIZE THEIR RESPONSIBILITY TO PROMOTE THE WELL-BEING OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES AND TO SEEK AN OPEN AND EQUITABLE WORLD ECONOMIC SYSTEM IN THE INTERESTS OF ALL."

M) PARA 13. WE ARE GRATIFIED BY THE APPARENT WILLINGNESS

OF ALLIES TO ACCEPT THIS FORMULATION.

N) PARA 14. YOU MAY AGREE WITH THE INCLUSION OF
"LASTING."

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